[Shri T. R. Bela].

(*Interruptions*) ... persons have been arrested unconstitutionally.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Madam, I have been permitted by the Chairman to raise an issue.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. In the case of Bihar also, I did not permit. (*Interruptions*). Please take your seat. I am not permitting. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. R. BALU :*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI :*

SHRI M. VINCENT :*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This will not go on record. (*Interruptions*). It is not going on record. (*Interruptions*). Leave it to me. I cannot permit it. (*Interruptions*) Nothing is being recorded. Let me handle it. I cannot permit it. The action of the Speaker of an Assembly will not be discussed over here. I am not permitting it. I don't permit even Bihar. Please sit down. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. VINCENT :*

SHRI T. R. BALU :*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Go back to your seat. It is not going on record. (*Interruptions*). Please keep quiet. Let me handle it. (*Interruptions*). I said, any action of the Speaker of a State Legislature will not be allowed to be discussed over here. I am not going to allow it and that is all about it. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. R. BALU *

SHRI M. VINCENT :*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Just imagine the condition of the Speaker. Will you please keep quiet and go back to your seat ? (*Interruptions*) I said, you can very well imagine the condition of the Speaker from the way you behave. You come into the well of the House and speak like a Speaker. I don't like it. (*Interruptions*) Now, I call Mr. Yashwant Sinha. (*Interruptions*). I said, I will not hear because it is a matter of a Speaker. That is all (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam, all the Members are agitated. (*Interruptions*). You just give them a chance. Kindly give them a chance. (*Interruptions*). They are all agitated. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Vincent, please sit down. Please sit down .... (*Interruptions*) .... Vincent, please sit down. Please take your seat .... (*Interruption*) .... Take your seat. .... (*Interruptions*) .... Members are agitated, that is not my concern because it can't be allowed .... (*Interruptions*) .... I will not allow it.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI TINDVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN :*

SHRI S. VIDHUTHALAI VIRUMBI :*

SHRI M. VINCENT :*

SHRI J. S. RAJU :*

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM : Madam, you kindly hear them. You give them a chance .... (*Interruptions*) ....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Nothing is going on record. Anybody speaking without permission is not going on record. Only Mr. Yashwant Sinha is being identified. Mr. Yashwant Sinha, please speak.

SPECIAL MENTION

Black Listing of ISRO by USA

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar) : Madam Deputy Chairman, this country has faced many vicissitudes in its independent history, but I think the situation that we are facing today is unique because I don't recall any other occasion, including the

*Not recorded.

steaming of the Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal when India has been so directly threatened as it has been threatened today. Madam Deputy Chairman, the imposition, the blacklisting of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and the Russian Organisation, the Glavkosmos, is a very serious matter. We have been raising this issue in this House. The Government has assured us that it would not allow the interests of India to be jeopardised, but we have today a sjtuation in which the Government of U.S., through a junior functionary, have announced that they have blacklisted the ISRO as well as the Russian organisation and there are these, implications of the blacklisting for two years—they will not do any trade with us, they will not allow us to import from them, they will not allow us to export to them and after two years the situation will be reviewed. Now apart from the fact that this thing has taken place, the question involved is a very serious one. I have said earlier in this House, Madam Deputy Chairman, that we are being subjected, not only in this matter, but also in other matters, to the domestic law of the U.S. They pass a law in their Congress and then they expect the whole world, including us, to start obeying that law. And when we said that our sovereignty is being compromised, this is exactly what we mean, that we are being compelled to obey the law of another country, irrespective of what our interests are, what our laws are. Though there is no authoritative statement in this House on the rocket engine technology transfer question, we have been told authoritatively in another parliamentary forum that India had gone shopping for this technology throughout the world and that we chose the Russian technology because it was the best-suited technology for us and it was made available to us on terms which were commercially the best. That is the reason why we went to the former USSR, now Russia. Now we have negotiated and arrived at an agreement. We also approached the U.S., and at that point of time, I am told, the U.S. raised no question whatsoever that we were not entitled to this technology. Now the newspaper report says—we have also been told at another forum, Madam Deputy Chairman—that the U.S. authorities have been in touch with the Government of Russia as well as the Government of India and they had been discussing the matter before they imposed this ban or put us on the blacklist. And in the course of these discussions we had been assured that our representatives had impressed upon the Government of the U.S. that not only this technology is going to be used for peaceful purposes, but also that it is not capable of being used for any military purpose. And even after that assurance has been conveyed by our Government, the U.S.A. has decided to blacklist the Indian Space Research Organisation, which means that our pleas have fallen on deaf ears and they have decided to go ahead under their domestic laws.

Madam, I would also like to emphasise that there are many dual-purpose technologies which can be put to use militarily but which can also be used for peaceful purposes and we have been using all these dual-purpose technologies for peaceful purposes in this country. This rocket engine technology is one such technology. There is no international disarmament agreement which says that you cannot have this dual purpose technology and the international disarmament agreement only lays down that in case a country misuses this facility then that case will be decided on the merit of that particular case. There cannot be a blanket ban on the import-export trade or the use of this dual purpose technology. Now, by doing this what the U.S. is saying, if the notice which it has given not only to India but to all the third world countries is that we should use technologies which are ancient and that we will have no access to modern technology even for peaceful purposes. We have been using this at a great cost. We have been launching the rocket at a great cost. This one step towards self-reliance they want us to negate. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, in the light of all these, in the light of the fact that they have actually acted—they are not waiting to act—and in the light of the fact that our pleas with them have fallen on deaf ears, I would like to make two clear

[Sh. Yashwant Sinha].

demands in this House. One is that the Government should come out with a statement. This Parliament is not helpless. It is not impotent that we cannot take a stand. Therefore, I am suggesting to, I am requesting, I am pleading with, the Government that they must come out with a statement on what exactly has happened in the course of today. It is such an important matter that we must have a statement from the Government today. Secondly, I am suggesting to this House, Madam Deputy Chairman, that we, as one person, must send today a signal not only to this country but to the whole world that this House condemns in no uncertain terms the U.S. action and we call upon the Government of India to take whatever measures which are within their power to resist the super power policeman approach. The whole House shall be united as one person behind this Government if they decide to resist this U.S. pressure. This is what I wanted to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, Mr. Jaipal Reddy. I have some names which have been cleared by the Chairman. I will call one by one. Please abide by the time.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : सदर साहिबा ।

†شری سکندر بخت : صدر صاحبہ ۔

उपसभापति : आपका नाम इसमें नहीं है जो मेरे पास नाम लिखे हैं वही हो सकते हैं न।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : आप लिख दीजिए, प्लीज ।

†شری سکندر بخت : آپ لکھ دیجئے ۔ پلیز ۔

उपसभापति : मैं लिख देती हूं . . . (**व्यवधान**) सिकन्दर साहब, देखिए, कोई कायदे के . . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : इसमें कायदा क्या है एक सवाल . . . (**व्यवधान**)

†شری سکندر بخت : اس میں قاعدہ کیا ہے۔ ایک سوال . . . "مداخلت" . . .

उपसभापति : कायदा यह है कि जो मेरे पास नाम हैं . . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : बिजनेस क्या बाहर से उठाया गया है । हर एक बोल सकता है ।

†شری سکندر بخت : بزنیس کیا باہر سے اٹھایا گیا ہے۔ ہر ایک بول سکتا ہے ۔

उपसभापति : जी नहीं ।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : यह आप क्या कर रही हैं क्या वहां सदर साहब को लिखा जाना जरूरी है ?

†شری سکندر بخت : یہ آپ کیا کہہ رہی ہیں۔ کیا وہاں صدر صاحب کو لکھا جانا ضروری ہے۔

उपसभापति : जो नाम मेरे सामने सेक्रेटरिएट ने दिये हैं मैं उन्हें बुला रही हूं । आप हर बात पर कांफेंट क्यों करते हैं?

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : मैं आपसे दरख्वास्त करता हूं । (**व्यवधान**) यह बात क्या हुई।

†شری سکندر بخت : میں آپ سے درخواست کرتا ہوں . . . "مداخلت" . . . یہ کیا بات ہوئی ۔

उपसभापति : मैं आपको बुला लूंगी कोई मुश्किल नहीं आ जायेगी ।

His name is there. I have to call him first.

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT : I would also like to say something.

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : From your party there are three or four names. You decide yourselves who wants to speak. Mr. Mathur is there, Mr. Sharma is there and you also want to speak. We cannot have a full-fledegd discussion on it. There are certain rules which we have to follow.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, this is such an important matter.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I know. I will allow you. But everybody should not get angry like this every day. There is a limit to it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : I am not asking every day.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त : बात बात पर कायदे की बात करती हैं, जबकि कायदे का वजूद नहीं है।

†بی سکندر بخت : بات بات پر قاعدے کی بات کرتی ہیں۔ جبکہ قاعدے کا وجود نہیں ہے۔

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am sorry, Mr. Bakht. There is no कायदे का वजूद। I don't mean to say कायदे का वजूद ।

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY) : Madam Deputy Chairman, on this issue Members on all sides are and will be of one voice. We represent all sections of the people in the country. When the whole House is one, the House represents the whole country. It is admitted that following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and following the termination of cold war phase, the United States has emerged as the only global super power. In the wake of this sea-change in the global scenario, the attitude of the United States itself has undergone a change in respect of many matters and this rocket technology issue is an example of change in the attitude of the United States. In 1989, when India wanted to acquire the cryogenic rocket technology, the General Dynamics Corporation of the US responded through its bid, the Arian Corporation of France responded to this.

There bids were forbiddingly costly. India could not accept the offers. At that time the US did not raise any objection on the ground that transfer of this technology from the US company would be inconsistent with the MTCR. Because of this new global development the US is altering its perspective in regard to an issue like Missile Technology Control Regime with retrospective effect. We went in for this agreement with the USSR in 1990. At that time also no objection was raised. Why is the US raising objections now? One positive development in this situation or in other words silver living, in the relieved dark clouds, appears to be the resistance of the Russian Space Organisation, Glavkosmos. The Chairman of the Glavkosmos has raised his voice against this objection. The Chairman of the Glavkosmos has said that this technology has no military implications. It has only commercial implications. The US is not only out to stop the spread of this technology to the developing countries but is also out to curb the commercial profits of the erstwhile USSR. Madam, we have been bending backward to please the US. We have changed our law in regard to the use of foreign trade names. We have allowed the US to enter our consumer area. We have done all this not for economic reasons but for political reasons. This has been mentioned by none other than the spokesman of the US Government itself. Yet the appetite of the US has not been satisfied. It only shows, the more we capitulate the more we surrender, the more we will be dictated to. The question, therefore, is whether this Government will summon the political will to rise to the occasion when all parties in the country are supporting the Government. I also want to know

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

[Shri S. Jaipal Reddy]

whether this Government will proceed with acceptance of the technology of the USSR. There was a news item in some newspaper—I do not like to believe that—that our Government was hesitating to accept it. I believe that news item to be incorrect. I want the Government to state its position categorically on this whole issue.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन (महाराष्ट्र) : महोदया, मुझे एक औचित्य का मुददा खड़ा करना है

उपसभापति : आपका आएगा कालिंग अटेंशन ।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : नहीं उसकी बात मैं नहीं कर रहा हूं। कल जब हम बिजनैस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी में बैठे थे तो विपक्ष के अनेक माननीय सदस्यों ने यह शिकायत की कि सरकार राज्यसभा को गंभीरता से नहीं लेती है ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बिजनैस ऐडवाइजरी कमेटी में क्या बात हुई, उस पर यहां बात नहीं हो सकती ।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra) : Why are you raising this issue ? There is a very important issue ... (*Interruptions*).

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : सरकार ने यह कहा था कि राज्य सभा में, उच्च सदन में कैबिनेट स्तर का एक मंत्री बैठा रहेगा और आज इतनी महत्वपूर्ण बहस हो रही है, अमरीका की ओर से भारत सरकार को दबाने की बात हो रही है तो उसकी चर्चा में यहां किसी कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री भी न रहे, मुझे यह अच्छा नहीं लगता ... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra) : Mrs. Margaret Alva is likely to become a Cabinet Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh) : I propose that she be promoted to the Cabinet rank.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA : I handled the matter in the other House on behalf of the PM.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : इतने कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर हैं, रोस्टर ड्यूटल लगा दीजिए ... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA : I am handling this subject for Parliament. You can rest assured that I will answer this.

उपसभापति : जैसे आपने कहा, रोज मैं यह कहती हूं । हो सकता है उस हाउस में बिजी हों । मार्ग्रेट अल्वा जी यहां मौजूद हैं । मुझे जैकब साहब ने बताया कि, इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय के ऊपर वह जरूर टिप्पणी करेंगी, और वही इस मामले को देख रही हैं प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से ।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra) : She is in charge of Science and Technology and she is a competent Minister.

उपसभापति : वह दूसरी बात कह रहे हैं । अभी हमारे जो मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट हैं उनको वह बुरा लगेगा, वह बुरा मानेंगी कि आप उनकी इज्जत नहीं कर रही हैं । हम लोग सब की इज्जत करते हैं । आ जाएंगे कोई न कोई मिनिस्टर । (*Interruptions*). Some Members had given their names to the Chairman for making special mentions and the Chairman has cleared those names. I want to clear this point now. First it is my duty to call those names that are before me. Then later on I will call the other Members who have wanted to speak. So I will call everyone who wants to speak on it. But I would like the Members to be brief. Just expressing their opinion is enough instead of making a long speech.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : Madam, we share the sentiments expressed by Mr. Yashwant Sinha and Mr. Jaipal Reddy. The entire country shares these sentiments. The United States, the world policeman, has imposed sanctions not only on the ISRO but also on the Russian counterpart, Glavkosmos. It is indeed very unfortunate.

They have done this under the guidelines of the Missiles Technology Control Regime. We have stated clearly on many occasions that our programme is for peaceful purposes—our programme is for putting a booster satellite in the orbit for remote-sensing, weather forecasting and for telecommunication purposes—and not for military purposes. This has been made clear many times. Even when the Defence Minister was in the United States, in a meeting with the Under Secretary of the U.S., Mr. Barthalomew, when the matter came up for discussion, he stated that this was not for military purposes that it was for weather purposes and communication purposes. Once it has been made very clear that this is for peaceful purposes, we do not understand as to why this action has been taken by the U.S. Government. Madam, from the Russian side also, Gen. Burbulis visited India last week. He also, after meeting with various officials, was convinced about India's intention and that is why they have decided to go ahead and sign the contract with India. I must congratulate the Russian side and Mr. Boris Yeltsin in particular, for having taken this stand and for signing the contract with India. In spite of the pressure, in spite of knowing that there will be repercussions on Russia itself, they have gone ahead and we must congratulate them for their spirit and also the Government of India for not bowing down to such pressures.

Madam, I can understand if they have taken this action because we came under their Missile Technology Control Regime. But, in the same breath, the same person who is the spokesman of the US Department has also stated that our import of supercomputers may also not take place. What is the connection ? They say that it is for the rocket technology and here they say that the import of supercomputers, which has nothing to do with this, will also be affected. They are saying that it will affect our import of the supercomputers. We cannot keep quiet over this sort of arm-twisting. I shudder to think as to what will happen if we were to look to the United States for the purchase of some military items and if we go ahead with that and try to purchase from them. I do not know how much arm-twisting they will do in times of our need. I shudder to think. We must, I think, depend on the European nations which might be much safer. This is, indeed, a very painful matter—this world policing by the United States, not by the United Nations because the United Nations is not anywhere in this. I think India must take the initiative on this and call for a meeting of the non-aligned nations on this. They are singling out one country after another for such punitive action, I mean, the world policeman, the United States. I think a meeting of the non-aligned nations must be called and the initiative must be taken by India. Otherwise, there will be no end to this arm-twisting of the non-aligned countries one by one. Unless we get organized, we cannot stop this. Before we overreact,—because we should not go on the basis of the Press reports only—we should ask for confirmation from the US whether this is correct and if this is correct, then, definitely, strong action must be taken by the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) महोदया, मैं अमेरिका की भर्त्सना और सरकार के माध्यम से सारे भारत की जनता के स्वाभिमान को जगाने के इरादे से खड़ा हुआ हूं। अमेरिका ने जो रवैया अपनाया है खासतौर से रूस के विघटन के बाद वह एक चिंता का विषय बन गया है जिसको कहना चाहिए चित्त भी मेरी पट भी मेरी। इस तरह की दोहरी नीति अमेरिका खेलता रहा है। अभी मेरे साथियों ने कुछ देर पहले बताया कि किस प्रकार से हम लोगों ने इस टेक्नोलोजी को लेने के लिए बाजार में सौदा करना चाहा था। उसमें फ्रांस ने, रूस ने और अमेरिका की कम्पनी ने भाव दिये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं अमेरिका की सरकार से कि क्या उसने मिसाइल्ज कंट्रोल टेक्नोलोजी रिजिम पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं किये हैं ? यदि मिसाइल्स कंट्रोल टेक्नोलोजी रिजिम पर अमेरिका के हस्ताक्षर थे और हैं

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

तो उस समय जब सौदे में उनकी कम्पनी खड़ी हुई बाजार में तो उन्होंने क्यों नहीं कहा कि तुम्हें बेचना नहीं चाहिए अर्थात् वे स्वयं अपने इस सौदे को तोड़ने को तैयार थे । हमें आज यह कहा जाए कि मिसाइल्स की जो टेक्नोलोजी रिजिम है उसको हम तोड़ रहे हैं तो हमारे ऊपर नम्बर-एक लागू नहीं होता क्योंकि हमने उस पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं किये । लेकिन अमेरिका ने हस्ताक्षर किये हैं तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि उस समय स्वयं आपने अपने ही समझौते को तोड़ने की बात स्वीकार क्यों की । वह स्वयं गिल्टी है और आज अपना दोष हमारे मत्थे मढ़ना चाहते हैं । यह ईमानदारी नहीं है । लेकिन जैसे मैं कह रहा था रूस के विघटन के बाद अमेरिका का रवैया बदल रहा है ? उस समय शायद उनको ख्याल था कि हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी टेक्नोलोजी दे देंगे । रूस की न ले और हमारी टेक्नोलोजी ले ले तो शायद हिन्दुस्तान हमारे ऊपर निर्भर रहे । लेकिन जब उन्होंने देखा कि देश हमारे ऊपर निर्भर होने को तैयार नहीं है और रूस का विघटन हो गया है तो अब वह दबाना चाहते हैं कि हम इस टेक्नोलोजी को न लें । जहां तक टैक्नोलोजी का सवाल है, यह एक अच्छी टेक्नोलोजी है, जिसे बूस्टर कहा जाता है, वह यह है । एक के बाद दूसरे ऊपर के क्षेत्र में जाने के लिए इसका उपयोग होता है । मैं वहां गया हूं और अहमदाबाद में मैंने उनका काम देखा है । बहुत बढ़िया काम आई. एस. आर. ओ. कर रहा है । खेती के क्षेत्र में, समुद्र के क्षेत्र में और अन्य हर क्षेत्र में हमारे इन लोगों ने श्रेष्ठ काम किया है । अमेरिका चाहता है कि यह श्रेष्ठ काम न हो । मैं उसकी इस नीयत पर भरोसा नहीं करता कि शायद यह रोक उसने दो साल के लिए लगाई है । उसका उद्देश्य मात्र यह नहीं है । उसने ट्रेड पर 301 लगाया । जैसा कि कलमाडी जी ने उल्लेख किया और ठीक उल्लेख किया कि शायद वह कम्प्यूटर पर रोक लगाना चाहता है । इसके पीछे कारण क्या है ? अब रूस के विघटन के बाद अगर कोई दूसरा देश दुनिया में सिर उठा कर खड़ा हो सकता है तो वह भारत है । वह जानता है कि भारत एक बड़ी शक्ति रूप में खड़ा हो सकता है । हमें इस चुनौती को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा । सारा देश इकट्ठा खड़ा होगा । जैसा मैंने आरम्भ में कहा मैं घोर से घोर शब्दों में अमेरिका के इस रवैये की भर्त्सना करता हूं । लेकिन हमें भारत के एक-एक जनमानस को जागृत करना होगा । हमारे सामने अब कोई दूसरा रास्ता शेष नहीं है । हमने रूस के साथ दोस्ती की, लेकिन अपनी रक्षा को और अपने स्वाभिमान को बेच कर नहीं की । लेकिन हमने एक प्रकार से एक पर निर्भर होकर चलने की कोशिश की लेकिन अब देश के सामने कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है । चाहे धन का मामला हो, व्यापार का मामला हो, चाहे अस्त्र-शस्त्रों का मामला हो, हमें अपने स्वाभिमान के साथ खड़ा होना पड़ेगा ।

अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं । सबसे बड़ा लक्ष्य जो आज अमेरिका के सामने है वह हिन्दुस्तान को दबाने के लिए है वह चाहता है कि भारत नान-प्रोलिफिरेशन ट्रीट्री पर हस्ताक्षर कर दे । हमें हरगिज भी उस पर दस्तखत नहीं करने चाहिएं । अमेरिका हमसे इस पर दस्तखत करने को कहता है । अगर हम ऐसा करेंगे तो उसके सामने सरन्डर करना होगा । हमारे पड़ोसी के पास बन्दूक है, लेकिन वह हमसे कहता है कि तुम कुछ मत करो । अगर मेरे हाथ में भी बन्दुक हो, तो तब कोई इस प्रकार की बात करे तो बात समझ में आती है । पाकिस्तान के पास बम है, चायना के पास बम है तब भी हमसे कहा जाता है कि तुम एन. पी. टी. पर दस्तखत करो । सरकार से मेरा अनुरोध है कि वह अपनी आंखें खोले और एटमबम बनाने की घोषणा न भी करे तो भी उसकी तैयारी हमें जरूरी करनी चाहिए । आज हिन्दुस्तान के स्वाभिमान की चुनौती है । सारा देश इस चुनौती को स्वीकार करने के लिए खड़ा है । आप भी खड़े हो जाइये । इतना ही मेरा आपसे निवेदन है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shri M. A. Baby. I would request the Members to be a little brief, please.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala) : Madam, I will be as brief as my earlier speakers.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Briefer than the earlier speakers. I agree with you.

SHRI M. A. BABY : Madam, I associate myself with the grave concern expressed by my hon. colleagues with regard to the imperialist arrogance of the United States of America. Madam, in unequivocal terms, I condemn the action of the US Administration in issuing sanctions against the ISRO and its Russian counterpart. I associate myself with the suggestion made by Yashwant Sinhaji that the Government should come out with a statement on this issue making clear its position. And this House, as representative of the country, should send its message that we stand united against the high-handed attitude of the United States of America. Madam, I hope, even Mr. Subramanian Swamy will agree for the adoption of a united stand condemning the US action.

Madam, this US action should not be viewed in isolation of a series of steps taken by the US Administration in the recent past. Today, in reply to Question No. 204,—unfortunately, this could not be taken up in the House due to the absence of the hon. Members—the Government came out, officially, with the explanation in regard to one of the recent antagonistic actions of the United States of America towards India. With your permission, I am quoting the reply given today :

> "On the 29th of April, the United States Government, in two separate actions :
>
> (a) redesignated India as a priority foreign country under Special 301, and
>
> (b) suspended duty free GSP treatment to 60 million dollars worth of Indian exports to the United States.
>
> GSP treatment has been suspended mainly for pharmaceuticals, chemicals and allied products.
>
> Government of India consider the U.S. action untimely, unwarranted and unjustified. The views of Government of India have been conveyed to the U.S. officilas. The U.S. response is that the present decision could be reversed if India addresses U. S. concerns on patent protection."

We know that in Rio De Janeiro, a global meeting is taking place regarding ecological and environmental issues. There too, the United States of America and the other G. 7 countries want the developing countires to toe the line of the western, developed, countries. On issue after issue, the U.S. is trying to arm-twist the developing countries.

In this House itself, we had a discussion where Members expressed concern over the refusal of the U.S.A. to sell wheat to our country when—originally, we agreed to sell rice to Cuba. It is highly atrocious that a country arrogates to itself the right to interfere with the trade relations of our country. This is nothing but diplomatic terrorism. This is nothing but trade terrorism. A country which speaks about protecting human rights and democratic rights is behaving in such a manner.

Therefore, Madam, as a country with the great tradition of fighting imperialism, it is time we stand united as a single person. It is extremely unfortunate that when an arrogant behaviour is being displayed by the U.S.A., the Government of India, the Defence Ministry, has decided to go in for a joint naval exercise with that country. I demand that, at least, taking into consideration this particular experience, we suspend, we abandon, we cancel, the joint naval exercise with the U.S.A.

Similarly, we should take very strong retaliatory measures. It is not that India is incapable of retaliating against the U.S.A. Here, mention has been made that we should try to revive and rejuvenate the

[Shri M. A. Baby]

unity and fraternity of the Third World countries. We should initiate diplomatic discussions, bilateral discussions, with the Third World countries, including China. Madam, you know that even some of the developed countries in Western Europe are not happy with some of the arrogant dictates of the U.S.A., especially in relation to agriculture subsidies. Therefore, if a country like India, with its prestige, with its anti-imperialistic tradition, stands up and tries to unite the developing countries, I think, we would be in a position to give a fitting rebuff to the highhanded attitude of the U.S.A.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal) : Madam Deputy Chairman, it is quite good that we have been able to find America in its true colour. It was only the other day that sermons were poured in this House profusely to say that America has become friendly to India. And since international tension had subsided, there is no reason to believe in the old digits.

It is only on that day that we were given to understand about the new character of the American power and it is only on that day some of our friends on the right of me had spoken that America is a friend of India. Therefore, to find a total unanimity in the House about the character of America is extremely good for us, good for the nation. Madam, I call this action as an act of State terrorism. It is an act of State terrorism deliberately committed to impose unipolar domination in the world. I do not believe that America has changed after the downfall of Soviet Union. America had always been like this. It is because of a different equation in the international balance of forces that America could not impose its own will in the way it is trying to do now. Let us not forget that at the time of the liberation of Bangladesh the American imperialism had sent its navy close to Indian waters to ensure that Indian forces did not act in the way they did not like. It is America who had acted as a policeman in relation to Kashmir, it is America who had sheltered the terrorists at least for some period of time. Therefore, America had always been what it is today.

My point is, why has this action been taken ? This action has been taken to protect the monopoly of technology, to deprive the third world of the modern technology. This action of America, in my opinion, constitutes an aggression on India's dignity and sovereignty. Never before our national dignity was in peril in the way it is today. The situation calls for something more than an unequivocal condemnation. May be Madam Margaret Alva is here to give a statement but is that enough ? Is it enough ? If the Government likes the national honour to be protected, it is nobody else than the Prime Minister who should issue a condemnation. Otherwise, our condemnation will be a diluted condemnation. I do not question the capacity of Madam Minister, she is going to issue a statement for the Government, but it is only the statement from the lips of the Prime Minister that can give vent to our feelings of anger.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M.A. Baby) In the Chair]

Sir, my third point is that there must be a material expression of our feelings of anger, not just a statement of condemnation, and that material condemnation of our feelings of anger must hit back. If you do not hit back at America, the monkey will be on your shoulder and it will be difficult for the country to behave with that monkey. Therefore, not only a statement, there has to be a material expression of feeling of anger, and if you want to do that you have to consider one or two steps. The one can be, calling off of the joint naval exercises. The other can be, liquidation, abolition of the Joint Military Council that has been set up. A number of military councils have been set up. They can be abolished and Government should seriously consider what can be the other steps. I call for the withdrawal of the joint naval exercise. If you don't want to go to that extent and if you want to dilute your anti-American feelings, then you may decide not to go to that point, because if you go too far your World Bank loan will be affected. Our political philosophy is tied up with the economic model and economic prescription

1.00 P.M.

Therefore, it is for him to decide to what extent he will go. But I say, the feelings of the country are such that you must give an expression to them, and to give an expression to them you have to take a material step, not only a statement. And if you want to issue a statement, it is only a statement from the Prime Minister that can proper expression to our feelings.

Lastly, Sir, I shall say that it is a grim hour for the country, and we must stand united. America has started exerting its position in the world, believing that there is no other Super Power and, normally and naturally, its target is India because India is one of the biggest countries of the world and India stands at the head of the Third World. In order to enslave the Third World which America needs, for the enslavement of the Third World India's morale must be broken, India must be made to bend. If India can be made to bend, the Third World can be given a lesson, a proper signal can be given to the Third World, and the American machine, the American apparatus has started working out these details. This is the first volley of gun power that they have just now fired –the first step. If you don't take proper action to safeguard your interests, then there is going to be more action from that side. We know what is happening so far as the patent law is concerned. Therefore, the process has started and there has to be a national resistance.

I call upon the Government to be a Government of national dignity, I call upon the Government to become a Government of national consensus, I call upon the Government to act as the nation would like it to act—not to dilute the resistance, not to dilute the anger, not to dilute the feelings of the Indian nation.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for the opportunity to speak on an issue on which there seems to be a very wide agreement. The step of the United States has come after an earlier step in connection with the Special 301, and it is ironic that these steps are being taken one by one. I know some other steps which have not received publicity. It is ironic because we have had some Ministers going from here to the United States and giving very fowery tributes to the relations between the two countries. The last visitor was the Defence Minister, Shri Sharad Pawar, who declared in the United States that the relations between India and the United States are excellent. While he said this, within two hours the Defence Department spokesman clarified that the relations are not excellent but in good shape. I think this is what we have to realize, that sweet talk or condemnation is not going to change the United States' attitude.

It is in our national interest to acquire a missile capability. I have argued this for the last twenty years, that India should have nuclear weapons, India should have Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles. Today I saw some papers which said that India can produce Cruise missiles. As long as the United States or any other country has these weapons, we also have to have these weapons and it is in our national interest to get them. It is equally understandable, even if we don't like it, that Big Powers will try to prevent us from getting them, and the stronger they are vis-a-vis ourselves, the harder they will be. The action taken by the United States against India is not comparable to the actions the United States takes against China. In fact, China gets much better, much superior hi-tech, and the United States does not take action, whereas they do against India. And the question is : why ?

The position we have put ourselves in is the position we find ourselves psychologically. I don't think physically, materially we are a weak nation. But there has to be some demonstration of our resolve. I don't think that we should be satisfied with passing a resolution of condemnation. In fact, I think, it is silly to pass a resolution of condemnation. It is a sign of our importance. If we really feel that the United States has done us wrong, if we feel outraged by it, there must be a retaliatory

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

action by India in some field. That is the only language the United States is going to understand. A resolution passed here to condemn the United States may satisfy some left-wing parties in this Parliament or it may satisfy the left-wing opinion in the country, but it is not going to change the U.S. attitude. The U.S. attitude is not going to change if you talk sweetly to them. We have seen our Ministers going there, dressed in tie and suit, looking like the Americans except for their fact, and that has not made any difference to the Americans. They have been equally tough. All the Ministers who have gone there recently and talked to the American counterparts, have been dressed in three piece suits with tie and starched collars and so on. It has not made the U.S. feel more akin to India. Sweet talk or condemnation is not going to change them. What is going to change tnem is your resolve. If you feel that you have the power to hurt the United States, exercise that power now. If not, acquire, try to acquire that power. Have resolve and take those steps. That is why I prefer concrete action rather than this kind of bravado which will only land us in a bigger mess.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this action of the USA is not an isolated action. This is a well thought-out, well-planned strategy of the U.S.A. to see that India does not get that technology by which it can be self-reliant and their market in India will suffer.

What I feel, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, is there are two countries in the world, India and China which, in future after some years can challenge the supremacy of the U.S.A. That is why, one by one, small actions they have started now. These are not very big steps. As I said earlier, this is only the lip of the iceberg. That is why we should be prepared to undergo difficulties and sufferings. We shall have to make sacrifices if we want to see that no other country can humiliate our country, nobody can insult our self-respect. Then we have also to think that some other measures are also going to come from the U.S.A. This pressure is being built up by America, as I understand it, beecause at the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations, I am very happy, this Government has taken a very firm stand in the interest of our country.

At the time of Agni missile, when it was to be fired, when Rajivji was our Prime Minister, there was pressure from the U.S.A., and we did not succumb to it. At the time of Prithvi also the same thing was there, and I am very happy that our Defence Minister has made it very clear that as far as Agni is concerned, we shall go on with our programme. That is why, this is a question of a fight between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' There is the NPT. The United States of America has all the nuclear and other technologies. This type of technology also they have got, but they do not want the third world countries should have this kind of technology. That is why they want to see that the third world countries depend upon USA. Therefore, this kind of pressures are being built up. The article written by our ex-Foreign Secretary in the *Times of India* is an eye-opener. He has categorically said if the third world countries are going to keep quiet, they will be facing worst conditions for themselves. I am sure that this Government would not succumb to any pressures from USA or from any other country. We shall go on doing what is in our interest. No other country can dictate to us. So, when somebody says that because of our economic interests we are going to compromise, I may point out very humbly that the people of this country are self-respecting and they will never compromise their self-respect with any quarter. Therefore, we have to prepare ourselves for facing difficulties. I feel in future there will be many many actions by America to throttle our throat. Our Finance Minister sitting here knows that even through the World Bank and the IMF they may try to see that India does not get as much fund as it wants. So, we should be prepared for that. In the Asian Development Bank also regarding the soft loan, they did the same thing. They said India and China are big countries. If they are given funds, other countries will

be starved. To see that we do not get and Pakistan and others get, they denied us our soft loan, which was free of interest and which was to be repaid in instalments spread over a number of years. I agree with what Mr. Subramanian Swamy has said about passing a resolution, but I feel that this pressure will continue to be built up till the Uruguay round conference on. As far as USA is concerned, it is more interested in preserving its commercial interests in the third world. As such these kinds of pressures are going to be built up. We will not give in. Let us all fight as one man and give a clear message to USA that this country is united and everybody is with this Government on this issue. We are all one with this Government on whatever measures it takes on this issue. We shall all support it fully. We are prepared to make any sacrifices, but we will not succumb to this kind of blackmail by USA. We all are behind this Government; all our countrymen are behind this Government. Since everybody is watching the actions of the Government, the Government on its part should make its stand very clear in this House. I have no hesitation to say as far as this Goverument is concerned, it will never succumb to any kind of pressure at the cost of self-respect. Let the Government come out with a statement to say that it will take care of the interests of the country, it will take care of the self-respect of the country. I am very much thankful to Mr. Yashwant Sinha and other Opposition friends who have raised this issue and have given us an opportunity to express ourselves on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY) : Before I call the next speaker, I would like to take the House into confidence. I would like to know whether we should skip the Lunch Hour or not. We are discussing a very important issue. There are other important Special Mentions also. Then we have the Government business. Apart from that a Calling Attention is also before the House.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes, We can dispense with the Lunch Hour.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, well, this very important issue has been raised by my friend, Shri Yashwant Sinhaji. Sir, quite a good deal of ground has been covered by my previous speakers. I am with them. I think the time has come when we in this country should realise that we no longer should depend upon other nations in matters concerning our basic and fundamental interests.

Sir, I remember the words of Kaiser the Emperor of Germany before the First World War. He said "I am Germany." I also remember the words of Louis XIV much earlier. He said "I am the State." Today, I am seeing the modern version of this cult, nefarious cult after the disappearance of the Soviet Union. Perhaps, America is thinking that it constitutes the world and all other countries of the world are its vassals, they are subservient to its dictatorship. Sir, I see a new attitude of America after the end of cold war, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It wants to take advantage of the world situation .

[The Deputy Chairman In the Chair]

As it portends today, it wants to keep every country in the world technologically, economically and politically inferior. That is the philosophy, that is the policy that is being pursued by America. It is a challenge not only to India now, but it is a challenge to the Third World, it is also a challenge to the whole world itself. I think India alone can stand up and say to the American Government, American administration that we do not tolerate this overlordship and revival of gunboat diplomacy in international affairs.

Madam, you will appreciate that it is not as if we do not have any space technology now. We have developed enough space technology. Once I was handling this portfolio. I regret to say that though we have achieved enough in space science and technology, we have not made much progress.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Gurupadaswamyji, I am sorry to interrupt you. But the thing is, the special mention has

[The Deputy Chairman]

been specially allowed because of the seriousness of the matter. There are certain names permitted by the Chairman. Considering the seriousness of the matter and the seniority of Members, I allowed some Members more. Please be brief because we have got a lot of business. The calling-attention is also there.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY : I will be very brief. I will not take much time.

I would only say that if we get more time, we can develop this rocket technology. That is my point. Even without the help of the Soviet Union, we are in a position to develop this. The only important thing is the time-factor. We need some more time, may be 18 months or two years, to develop this technology. We are only cutting short of the time-factor. The Americans should understand that we are not lagging behind in this technology any more. I will only say that now, the Americans are very much worried about the Thorium technology that we are developing. This is the irritant. The Thorium technology is very important for us for nuclear energy. Except the Soviet Union, no other country in the world has developed this technology. America does not know this technology. If we develop this technology, we will be the most powerful nuclear power in the world, not in military terms. We are going to be the most powerful nuclear power. The Americans do not like it. Therefore, Madam, we have to take this message in right earnest. What is required is a resolve on our part that we should develop our own technology and we should not wilt under or succumb to the pressures of America. As a House, as Parliament, a message should be sent from us to the American administration that we are not going to take these sanctions lying down. I appreciate and agree with the other hon. Members who have suggested that, as a retaliatory measure, we should say that we do not want to have joint military exercises any more. You should send this message to the American administration as early as possible.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Murli Bhandareji. I have the same request to make again. Please be brief.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra) : Madam, I rise to share the concerns which have been so eloquently and forcefully voiced by my colleagues preceding me. Now we are dealing with the retaliatory measures under which the USA has blacklisted the Russian Glavkosmos and the ISRO of India for two years. I will just give a brief history.

The MTCR was evolved in 1987. It covers transfer of air-borne systems which are capable of delivering a payload of 500 Kgs. to a long range of 300 Kms. and also supply components to build missiles and un-named vehicles subsisting. It was essentially a delivery system for nuclear heads. Now, anybody who is familiar with this technology knows that it is impossible to deliver or to launch any nuclear warheads on a rocket of this type. There is some positive evidence for this because in 1989, when India was going in for this technology, the American giant, armament giant, General Dynamics, was itself one of the bidders for this supply. We chose Russia because the Russians were the cheapest and also because Russia agreed to transfer technology .... which U.S.A. did not. The point which I am making is that if they were to make this supply to us, it would be outside the MTCR. This is clearly a double standard. Compare this with the double-faced action of the U.S.A. when it supplies missiles and other technology to South Africa without any retaliation, when it turns a Nelson's eye to China making M9 supplies to Pakistan. The point which I am making is that this is a clear pointer that the U.S.A. wants to perpetuate its hegemony over the rest of the world in the current change. I don't look at the world only as a uni-polar world. I look at the world as a non-violent world. I look at the world as a democratic world because it is the urge in nation after nation for democracy which has brought about the change. Every nation is prepared to change but not U.S.A. Most of its apparatus was also built and designed to meet a situation

of existing in a bi-polar world. Today, they have to get used to a situation where it will be a non-violent world, the message for which was given first by Mahatama Gandhi. And don't foregt that India is the largest democracy in the world. So while associating myself with this special mention, I feel doubly confident because of what the Prime Minister said towards the end of the last week. In most categorical terms, the Prime Minister said that he will not allow arm-twisting by any power and I think, that is a very very serious condemnation itself of the present action. I hope that the Government will rise to the occasion and do something about it. Ultimately it is a very very sophisticated method of getting over these things. I don't think we should just suggest ways and means which may not be possible. Democracy means independence of action. It is the freedom of your choice and all nations must have their independence of decisions and freedom of choices. I am quite sure that to preserve this independence for our country, everybody will do what is expected of him. When we speak in this House, we mirror the urges of the people outside through our speeches. I am also reflecting their urges that no citizen of this country, howsoever high or low he may be, will hesitate to make the utmost sacrifice that is expected of him, not only to enable India to stand on its own feet but to enable the whole Third World countries to stand on their own feet without being pressurised by any power whatsoever. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Now, I have some more names but I think I will read out the names of all those who want to speak.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, I want to speak for one minute.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Then other names are there. It is difficult. I am very sorry. We have other business also. I am very very sirry howsoever serious it might be. I agree with the hon. Members that it is a very serious issue. But the thing is that we have the Calling Attention with us and if was only a special mention. Considering the seriousness of this special mention, the Chairman allowed it. Now, we have the Minister waiting here.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA : I will mention only one point.

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) महोदया, एक मिनट के लिए . . .

उपसभापति : नहीं नहीं ।

श्री राम नरेश यादव : महोदया, इतना महत्वपूर्ण विषय है, इसलिए . . .

उपसभापति : महत्वपूर्ण है । अगर 50 बोलेंगे तो भी महत्व रहेगा और एक बोलेग तो भी महत्व रहेगा । मैं नाम बोल देती हूं कि कौन कौन बोलना चाह रहे थे— राम नरेश यादव जी, शांति त्यागी जी, नारायणसामी जी और कपिल वर्मा जी, ये सब लोग बोलना चाह रहे थे ।

SHRI KAPIL VERMA : I only want to say that America is turning a blind eye to Pakistan. Pakistan has just sold Stringer missiles to China. They are ICBM and China is now converting them into some other missiles. So, this is a clear violation of the missile programme. America is trying to double-deal with us . . . . (*Interruptions*) . . . . I am sure that we will not succumb to this threat and we will face it. Madam, as a scientist, you know that liquid fuel is used in it. Liquid fuel cannot be used for a missile. So it is perfectly a peaceful type of thing we are building. So I am sure we will not succumb to it and the Government of India and the Minister will make very clear statements symbolising the nation's decisive opinion and determination not to succumb to it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : O.K. Margaret Alvaji.

श्री राम नरेश यादव : मैडम,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, no. I have to put my foot down somewhere.

श्री राम नरेश यादव : . . . (व्यवधान) इसका सरकार को जवाब देना चाहिए और किसी भी कीमत पर झुकना नहीं चाहिए। भारत एक है और सारे लोग एक हैं, यह कहना चाहिए और पूरी दुनियां को आभास देना चाहिए कि इस सम्बन्ध में भारत झुकने वाला नहीं है ।

उपसभापति : बस बैठिए ।

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA : Madam, we have seen the newspaper reports this morning, about the proposed American action against the ISRO and the Russian Space Agency. We have received confirmation officially, just a couple of hours ago, that these reports are correct. We will need some time to study the implecations of the proposed action and to respond to the situation in an appropriate manner. I do appreciate the unanimity with which all sections of this House, cutting across party lines, have expressed their concern over this action, and the manner in which the Members have expressed their views. We share their concern over this action and I wish to assure the House, on behalf of the Government, that we will do all, that is necessary to protect our national honour, interest and freedom of choice. While reiterating the fact that the Indian Space Progromme has always been a peaceful one, I wish to say that our scientists are quite capable of meeting the challenge posed to them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now we will take up the Calling Attention to matter of urgent public importance. Mr. Baby has announced we are dispensing with the lunch hour, not the lunch. People can go and have lunch, those who have not had it; and others can joint them.

श्री शान्ति त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, बाकी स्पेशल मेंशन कब होंगे ?

शाम को ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Generally when we have a Calling Attention, we don't have Special Mentions, but as a special consideration, seeing the seriousness of the situation, the Chairman permitted it and I also allowed many other people. Now I call upon the hon. Minister to make his statement. आप पहले कॉल तो कर लीजिए मंत्री जी को ।

Today you have to call, not me.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Prevailing Drought Conditions in Different parts of the Country and the Action taken by Government in Regard Thereto

श्री प्रमोद महाजन (महाराष्ट्र) : देश के विभिन्न भागों में व्याप्त सूखे की स्थिति और इस संबंध में सरकार द्वारा की गई कार्यवाही की ओर मैं कृषि मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं ।

[The Vice-Chairman, (Shri M. A. Baby), In the Chair]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI K. C. LENKA) : Sir, During the South-West Monsoon (June—September), 1991, 28 Meteorological sub-divisions out of the total number of 35 sub-divisions in the country experienced excess or normal rainfall. 7 meteorological sub-divisions experienced deficient rainfall, and there was no scanty rainfall situation in any sub-division. Monsoon rainfall was very good over peninsula, good over North-East India, West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat region and the Islands Territories and satisfactory in the remaining parts of the country, except Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Hills of West Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Kutch, which remained deficient.

Even though the total rainfall for the country as a whole during the four month monsoon was 92% of the long period average value, its advance beyond the peninsula was late by about three weeks. This resulted in dry spells in some parts of the North and North-West India.